

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7308

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, CZ

SUBJECT: PEACE-MAKING WITH THE CZECHOSLOVAK INTELLIGENTSIA

REF: A) PRAGUE A-133; B) PRAGUE A-135; C) PRAGUE 2907

1. SUMMARY. IN RECENT MONTHS, AND ESPECIALLY IN THE PAST FEW WEEKS, SEVERAL CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS HAVE SPOKEN PUBLICLY OF SHORTFALLS IN THE CZECHOSLOVAK ECONOMY AND OF THE NEED TO IMPROVE OVERALL ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE. IDENTIFYING THIS OR THAT CAUSE -- MORE EXPENSIVE RAW MATERIALS, POOR MANAGEMENT, UNFULFILLED CAPITAL INVESTMENT-- THE SPEAKERS HAVE CALLED TIME AND AGAIN FOR IMPROVING MANAGEMENT IN ALL SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY AS A WHOLE. PART OF THIS THESIS IS REINTEGRATING CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S INTELLIGENTSIA AND DEPOSED TECHNOCRATS INTO INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT. IN ITSELF, PROPOSING A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN CSSR'S SOCIETY FOR THE INTELLIGENTSIA IS NOT NEW, AND IMPLICIT IN THE SUGGESTION IS A PARDON FOR COMPLICITY IN THE EVENTS LEADING TO SOVIET "ASSISTANCE" IN

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AUGUST, 1968. BUT THERE SEEMS TO BE A GREATER SENSE OF

ECONOMIC URGENCY TODAY WHEN KSC LEADERS SUGGEST THIS KIND OF RAPPROACHMENT, AND THE UPCOMING KSC CC PLENUM MAY TRANSMIT THIS MESSAGE PARTY-WIDE. END SUMMARY.

2. IT HAD BECOME CLEAR EARLY THIS YEAR THAT EVERYONE IN THE KSC WAS UNITED IN THE COLLECTIVE VIEW OF WHAT HAPPENED IN 1968. AS THEY SAW IT, THAT WAS THE CRISIS YEAR IN A CRISIS PERIOD OF ANTI-SOVIET, ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES, BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD, DIRECTED SPECIFICALLY AGAINST THE LEADING ROLE OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE VESTED INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS IN THIS SOCIETY. ONLY BY VIRTUE OF KEEN AWARENESS DID STALWART KSC DEFENDERS RESTORE PARTY HEGEMONY AND BEGIN THE PROCESS OF "NORMALIZATION." SOVIET AND SOCIALIST ASSISTANCE, OF COURSE, WAS CRUCIAL. APRIL 1969 WAS THE BEGINNING OF A NEW AGE, DUE IN NO SMALL MEASURE TO GUSTAV HUSAK'S RESOURCEFULNESS IN LEADING THE PARTY AND COUNTRY OUT OF THOSE DARK DAYS INTO THE LIGHT, AND "NORMALIZATION" FOLLOWED BY "CONSOLIDATION" HERALDED THE NEW ERA. THUS RAN THE OFFICIAL VIEW.

3. MUCH AS IT DOES WITH FIVE-YEAR PLANS, THE PARTY AT SOME POINT WAS DESTINED TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE SUCCESS OF FIVE YEARS OF KSC-INSPIRED CONSOLIDATION. IT WOULD PERHAPS BE THE MOST SIGNIFICANT AVAILABLE POLITICAL SUCCESS TO TOUT. A SIGNAL THAT THIS IN FACT MIGHT BE BREWING WAS FLASHED WHEN STROUGAL OBSERVED IN TVORBA IN SEPTEMBER 1974 (SEE REF A) THAT EVEN THE PARTY HAD BEEN SURPRISED WITH THE SPEED IN WHICH MOST OF THE EFFECTS OF 1968 HAD BEEN OVERCOME. THOUGH HE DID NOT GO ON TO SAY IT, THE IMPLICATION WAS CLEAR: CONSOLIDATION AS THE PARTY'S PRIMARY PREOCCUPATION WAS NOW A THING OF THE PAST, LEAVING THE PARTY FREE TO TAKE A DIFFERENT TACK.

4. WHAT WOULD IT BE? BASED ON THE RECENT SPOKEN WORDS OF STROUGAL, JIRI POLEDNIK (SSM), ALOIS INDRA, AND OTHERS, IT APPEARS THAT MOTIVATING THE PARTY TO TACKLE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS MORE AGGRESSIVELY--THE HOTTEST TOPIC IN THE PRESS THESE DAYS--MIGHT LICENSE REINTEGRATING THE INTELLIGENTSIA (INCLUDING TECHNOCRATS) AS A CLASS, WITH ALL OF ITS TALENTS, INTO THE SOCIETY. THIS HAS NOW BEEN IDENTIFIED BY ONE OR ANOTHER LEADER AS A NEW MAJOR TASK FOR THE PARTY, TO BE EXECUTED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BOTH WITH TOLERATION AND VIGILANCE. A SIMULTANEOUS WARNING NOTE IS SOUNDED, HOWEVER: ONE CAN SAFELY SPEAK OF BRINGING THE INTELLIGENTSIA INTO THE FOLD ONLY IF HE NEVER FORGETS THE HISTORY OF 1967 AND 1968. THAT CRISIS PERIOD WITNESSED THE INTELLIGENTSIA (ACCORDING TO STROUGAL, FOR INSTANCE) BECOMING POWERFUL, VOCAL, SELF-SERVING AND ELITISH AT THE EXPENSE OF THE WORKERS. CERTAINLY THERE WAS NO GREATER CRIME.

5. AT THE YOUTH ORGANIZATION (SSM) STUDENT CONGRESS ON NOVEMBER 19, STROUGAL PAID DUE HOMAGE TO THE SOVIET UNION, TO THE WORKERS LEADING ROLE IN SOCIETY, AND TO THE FIGHT AGAINST ALL BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST IDEOLOGY. RAPID AND COMPREHENSIVE TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT WAS TOP PRIORITY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA: "IT WOULD . . . BE A MISTAKE IF DISTRUST OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA (FROM 1968) AS A WHOLE WERE CONTINUALLY TO COME INTO BEING . . . THE VAST MAJORITY OF THOSE WHO MADE MISTAKES AND HAD DOUBTS HAVE BEGUN RETURNING TO ACTIVE WORK AND GRADUALLY ALSO TO THE SUPPORT OF PARTY POLICY." STROUGAL CONCLUDED THAT PARTY AND COUNTRY SHOULD ACTIVELY RELY ON THE INTELLIGENTSIA TO HELP SOLVE VERY SERIOUS LONG-TERM ECONOMIC PROBLEMS: SHORTAGES OF FUEL AND POWER, INCREASING PRICES FOR RAW MATERIALS AND FOR FOOD STUFFS, AND DRASTICALLY MORE DIFFICULT COMPETITION FOR SALES OF CZECHOSLOVAK INDUSTRIAL GOODS IN THE INTERNATIONAL MARKET-PLACE. FINALLY, IN FRANK ADMISSION, HE ADDED THAT WITH NO SOCIETY TO OVERTHROW, NEWCOMERS NOT ONLY TO THE INTELLIGENTSIA BUT TO THE KSC ITSELF WERE GOING TO BE A HARD LOT TO INSPIRE WITH MARXIST-LENINIST THOUGHT. THUS, THE PARTY WAS FACED WITH A DIFFICULT TASK INDEED.

6. THE CZECHOSLOVAK PREMIER WAS SPEAKING ON THE HEELS OF INDRA'S SIMILAR TESTIMONIAL (SEE REFAIR B). JIRI POLEDNIK STEPPED IN LINE JUST BEHIND STROUGAL ON NOVEMBER 15. ON NOV 13TH AT THE "PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND COMMUNISM" SEMINAR IN SOFIA, KSC CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER OLDRICH SVESTKA CHIMED IN, CRITIZING ATTEMPTS "...TO PIT WORKING COLLECTIVES AGAINST SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT (AND SEPARATING) SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL INTELLIGENTSIA FROM THE WORKING CLASS ..." AS IF TO SIGNAL NATIONAL FRONT SUPPORT FOR THIS THESIS, SVOBODNE SLOVO ON NOVEMBER 16 PRINTED A LONG EDITORIAL WHICH SPECIFIED THAT NEEDS FOR IMPROVED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TECHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT DICTATED THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY TO GENERATE "A SIZEABLE AND EVER-GROWING CADRE OF TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC INTELLIGENTSIA."

7. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THE CZECHSLOVAK LEADERSHIP KNOWS IT HAS A HARD ECONOMIC PULL AHEAD, AND IS TRYING TO GET MORE GOOD TALENT INTO THE STRUGGLE NOT FROM POLITICAL DESIRABILITY BUT FROM PLAIN ECONOMIC NEED. WITH THE NOVEMBER PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AT HAND, HIGH PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS MAY BE PREPARING A GRACEFUL MANNER OF RETURN FOR SOME OF THE EDUCATED "OUTS" OF 1968. THIS OF COURSE IS ONLY ONE ELEMENT IN THE COMPLICATED ECONOMIC PICTURE, WHICH WE ASSUME WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING (REF C) WHERE MORE CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS MAY OPPOSE FORGIVENESS FOR THE MEN OF 1968

EVEN IF THEIR HELP IS NEEDED. THESE RECENT PUBLIC UTTERANCES  
MEAN TO US, HOWEVER, THAT THE LEADERSHIP IS CONCERNED  
ENOUGH ABOUT THE ECONOMY TO ATTEMPT REINTEGRATING SOME OF THE  
ONCE SCORNED INTELLECTUALS INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF ECONOMIC LIFE.  
PERRY

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## Message Attributes

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